

SATURDAY,

MAY 1, 1776

The PENNSYLVANIA

G A Z E T T E



Containing the Freshest Ad-

VICES, Foreign and Domestic

From a Philadelphia News-Paper, of April 25, 1776, published by James Robertson.

L O N D O N, FEBRUARY 19.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Debate on Monday upon the Duke of Richmond's motion, "That General Gates's letter to Lord Thane lie on the Table."

The Earl of Baisron's Speech.

I have hitherto sat silent, my Lords, and chose rather to attend to the different opinions of your Lordships, which I shall always do with that respect and deference that is due to them, than to interrupt the course of the debate—but as I find other Lords have filled into great digressions, this and other days, I should be ashamed to sit longer silent, or give a tacit vote, and not declare my sentiments openly on this very critical and very important situation, and especially as I hope thereby to manifest that affectionate and dutiful, though independent and disinterested attachment to his Majesty's person and government, which I hold inseparable from that zeal for the welfare of my country, that has ever been and shall be the invariable rule of my conduct.

My Lords, I hope your Lordships will forgive me if I go a little, and it shall not be much, into the cause, or, in some degree into the conduct of this unhappy rebellion in our colonies; but I think it necessary to tell your Lordships, that from the very first dawn of it, when I had then a seat in the other House, I took an early part in declaring my sentiments against the measures which I then thought, and I still think, rather encouraged than removed the inclinations there appeared in some of the refractory leaders in that country to dispute the rights, and, by degrees, throw of that subjection, which, from every tie in human nature, they owe to this: however, when I found reason was adopted (I mean the repeal of the Stamp-Act) and that it had produced the effects that were foretold it would do, I then, my Lords, took a part with those, who, like me (from the different accounts given of the situation of the colonies, their dissensions and contentions) thought it was only coercive measures that could bring them to a sense of their duty and their interest; but, like others, had only the privilege of giving my opinion, whilst every step that was taken by those in, as well as those out of power, seemed to promote what we ought all to have united in order to have stifled in its infancy: The encouragement the Colonies met with, from what I must think the mistaken judgment, and consequently ill-timed language of one set of gentlemen on this side the Atlantic, and from the more supine, timid conduct of those who have ever since been at the head of the measures of this country, brought the colonies first to those daring steps of rebellious union, and next to the no less daring, but more fatal, acts of open violence against their Sovereign and their Mother-Country.

But, my Lords, it is now long since we have been in the open field of contention for the rights and supremacy of this country over its colonies, and which, I hope, we shall never give up, but trust we shall yet be able to maintain, though I must beg to declare, as for myself, that after all the blood that has been already spilt, after all the millions that have been already scattered, and after all the solemn promises that have been already given by ministers, and with as great a fleet and as large an army as ever this country singly maintained, when not at war with foreign powers, we are, in my opinion, in a worse situation than when we first began; I mean, as to any appearance of making an end of this most distressful war; and I should therefore, my Lords, before I gave an ultimate opinion, much less an ultimate vote, on this very critical and important business, wish to know authentically, what assurances have been given by our commanders in chief in that country (whose opinions alone are now to be relied on) that we shall be able, by pursuing this war, to give the people some hopes that all the millions they have given, and all the blood that others have wasted, will be attended with such success, as shall give some speedy relief to those heavy burdens, which I confess, and do lament, they now groan under.

My Lords, if we reflect but for a moment that it is only our American colonies that we are now at open war with, and that there have been already near eighteen millions spent to carry on that service; and that our trade, which is the only source of these supplies, as you heard the other night at the bar, has suffered, and is still suffering, almost as much as if at war with those two great powers of France and Spain. What is to become of us, when that too may be added? Our very coasting trade has met with great interruption—and need I remind your Lordships of the evil attending our having so many seamen on board the American privateers, as we also heard the other night at our bar; in 1753 privateers were, on a very moderate calculation, allowed to be 13,350 men. The dangers attending this evil, and which we have not to encounter in a war with France and Spain, have too many bad consequences for me to enumerate now, but which I think cannot escape your Lordship's discernment.

My Lords, it appears to me that the methods hitherto pursued to subdue this rebellion, and to put an end to the depredations it occasions, and the sufferings of every individual in this country, as well as the few remaining friends we have in that, have been such, as have rather tended to promote than prevent our losses; to prolong rather than conclude the war; for the manner in which we have sent our recruits, our clothing, our ammunition, our stores, in short, our supplies of every kind to our forces abroad, has, in my opinion, rather conveyed a greater part of them to our foes than our friends. My Lords, I am unwilling to trespass on the time, to point out to your Lordships the several valuable captures of

this nature that have been made by the rebels, from what I feel sorry to say is the ill conduct of those who were to superintend this very essential part of the war, because I am very certain that every Lord who bears me witness, will be ready to repeat the same, we have heard of to shew this; when, by a proper distribution of all their kinds of necessities to be sent to our fleet and army, had they been put into the hands of men of war sent to America, or had ten or a dozen of our fourth rates that were in commission, and many more also of the line, and not so well employed, been armed in this, and destined for this particular essential service, at a time when we knew of no fleet out to require their attention, they would not only have secured their supplies to our own forces, deprived the enemy of what they stand in much to want of, and at that time could not have obtained but by such misconduct, but, I will venture to think, would have saved the public above half the expense thrown away in that most extravagant manner of hiring transports, and the buying of ships and vessels for that purpose; which, in the transport service for the navy only, exclusive of ordnance and treasury transports) has since Sept. 1775 to Sept. 1777.

The victualling these transports also is

Which makes the sum of 1,792,110 2 9
Besides these sums, there has been paid for the purchase of ships and vessels, since January 1776, 94,756 5 1

My Lords, these may appear inconsiderable sums, where we are throwing away in many more considerable; but give me leave to look upon them as enormous, when we consider that above half might have been saved to the public in these particulars alone, by prosecuting the method I have pointed out to your Lordships; but it is not my intention at present, my Lords, to enter into a minute detail of the conduct of our navy in this war, after the almost enormous sums that have been granted for the navy (greater than ever was known before) because I should then be obliged to go back to many circumstances that may be necessary for me to shew your Lordships, that I am still consistent with whatever I have before declared on these subjects, and particularly so, when at the opening of last sessions of parliament I had the honour of acquainting your Lordships, that I acquiesced in the assertion then made by the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty, that we were ready by the month of March last, which I allowed, could there be got men to man them: But I must now express my astonishment at there not having been half that number fit for immediate service, if so many; and although at that time the different armaments of France and Spain, and particularly that great expedition from Cadiz, which no one knew the real destination of at that time, called loudly upon us for every exertion of our naval power.

My Lords, I shall reserve myself for whatever I may hereafter find necessary to say on this very extensive subject of our navy; I shall now content myself in this instance with making one short and general observation to your Lordships, which is, that if the fleet is in every respect such as I am told has been officially represented to your Lordships, that it is completely fitted, completely manned, completely officered, and in short, fit for service, in every sense of the word; I mean fit to proceed immediately to sea, and attack a fleet (if necessary) of France or Spain, or hothunted; not for the purpose only of cruising after an American privateer, or retaking a West-India merchant ship; I say, if the fleet is in this superior order, why then has England hitherto made this contemptible figure, that put only our trade has been constantly annoyed, our islands left in such distress, and exposed to the ravages of the American privateers, but our own coasts have been so insulted all last summer, that our ports and rivers have scarce been free from American depredations; and our very men of war have met with insults from foreign powers, both in their ports and in the ocean, unknown to the British flag before? Surely, if our fleet is a such excellent order and readiness, what can these disgraces be owing to but the want of conduct, or the want of knowledge in this profession of those who superintend our naval affairs; and though, my Lords, I must and ever will do justice to the great abilities, assiduity and attention, of the noble Lord who presides at the Admiralty, to which I have been an eye-witness, yet his Lordship must give me leave to say, that when this great fleet (and 'tis now I think 250 sail of pendant sailing, among which are seventy-odd ships of the line, and many more preparing) is to be put in motion, and all its detail attended to; the different proper dispositions made of it, with proper commanders in chief to the different stations; I say, my Lords, when all this is to be put properly in motion, when the calm in which his Lordship has so long presided is ruffled, and the storm begins to blow from every quarter, his Lordship must excuse me, if I do assure him, that, old and experienced as he may think himself in that office, he has yet an apprenticeship to learn in that profession.

My Lords, can your Lordships without some degree of emotion recollect the glorious figure this nation made in the year 1761, when, by the wise councils, intrepid conduct, and judicious choice of Admirals and Generals, and that great statesman then at the head of his Majesty's council, and whose absence this day here I very much lament, the arms of Great-Britain were carried triumphantly over the whole globe, and its flag revered wherever it was displayed. And now, my Lords, what is the dreadful contrast? Great-Britain, drained almost to the last guinea and the last man, and that very flag, once the terror, now the contempt of all Europe. Do your Lord-

ships not feel indignation at the change, as do you the great friends of their country? My Lords, you cannot be so disinterested, too publicly known, and I fear too generally published all over Europe, to require any more.

This great nation being brought so rapidly from the glorious situation it was in to the state of distress it now is, is it with, is it possible, my Lords, to imagine that the same identical councils and measures, if pursued, will extricate us? No, my Lords, indeed it is the thought, and this would be such a wish. For my own part, my Lords, permit me to dissent of that opinion. Which your Lordships have given in many Lords, that I may now say I have great reason to, and a great opinion of the abilities and integrity of many of the noble Lords in Administration, and I have the same for many of those that are out of it; and I am sure the noble Duke who presides every one's thanks for the pains his Grace has taken in this enquiry, and with such knowledge and such candour as he has laid it before us; but I have no objections at present with either set; I have not the honour of being considered as of any party; my whole and sole devotion is for the honor and interest of my king and country.

My Lords, I have not a wish for myself, or any ambitious or interested object to gratify, having long since determined neither to flatter, or, if offered, to accept of any place or emolument whatsoever out of my military line, and thereby convince my sovereign and my country (it is possible in these days of general corruption) that I am no ways interested in the change of men or measures, but as it tends to the prosperity of the whole. But give me leave, my Lords, to add, that in such times as these, when the great sums given to the crown (great as they are) are insufficient to support the still greater expenses of the crown, I should be happy to join any set of gentlemen, in serving in any capacity that I could be thought capable of, without salary, emolument or reward, of any kind whatsoever. My Lords, believe me, 'tis only such determinations as these with the people of great rank and property, that will regain the confidence of our fellow-subjects, ease his Majesty's expences, and consequently lighten the burthen of his people.

My Lords, these reasons, and many more that I could enumerate, have prevailed with me to trespass on your Lordships' indulgence in this stage of the business, but more particularly to earnestly intreat your Lordships, in this critical situation, to consider yourselves as those, on whom the crown must ever rely for salutary advice; as those whom the people must ever look to (under the crown) as their hereditary guardians; and that, in that light, your Lordships will now throw off every temporary consideration of this or that side of the house, as was mentioned the other night; every obligation that party may think they have a right, on every occasion, to claim, for this assent or that dissent; and as the great hereditary, and, I hope, independent council of this nation, to which all other councils, of what kind soever, in this moment ought to yield, that you will pursue this enquiry, as it is begun, with a strict, ample, and impartial scrutiny into the real state of the nation, and enable yourselves thereby to judge what this country can do, or what it cannot do, and humbly and dutifully advise the Crown accordingly, and take such steps as shall change the current of that fatal conduct, and such enormous waste of blood and treasure, which, if longer pursued to no better purposes, must inevitably bring on the immediate ruin of this once great, once flourishing empire."

As soon as the Earl of Bristol sat down, the Earl of Sandwich rose and said, that if the positions of the noble Earl respecting the state, destination and employment of the navy, were suffered to be circulated, without being properly explained, and the noble Earl's mistakes rectified, the world would conceive that what he had so often repeated on the subject was a mere imposition, and had no foundation; he should therefore intrude on their Lordships' patience just to set the noble Earl right, and to maintain his own ground as a speaker of truth.

With regard to the noble Earl's idea that the transport service would have been effected at a more safe and at a much cheaper rate to the public, if the soldiers and stores had been sent to America on board of men of war, instead of vessels hired at an enormous price from private merchants, there could not have entered into the mind of any one of their Lordships so absurd and false a conception. In the first place, if four or five hundred landmen, with the necessary provisions for such a number, stores, &c. were put on board a man of war, and the were sent out to sea with only her upper tier of guns, it would be impossible for her to fight, and in fact she could no longer, in any sense of the word, be deemed a man of war; in the second place, the expense of so sending them would be much more, perhaps ten times as much, as if they were sent, as they had been, in vessels hired merely for the service.

The noble Earl had said, that 40 ships of the line were not ready for sea in March last; the noble Earl was mistaken, and did not consider that in America, and in other stations out of Europe, there were 6 or 10, and that the other 30 remained at home.

In one part of his speech the noble Earl had asserted, that we had armed to our last guinea and our last man. No assertion could be more foreign from the real state of the case. Our army was not near so large as it ought to be rendered, and our fleet was not so numerous as it had been on prior occasions. In the course of the last war we had no less than 17 lines of battle ships, at present we had only 38, but he did not doubt, if there were occasion, we could fit out at least as many as were

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at sea last war. His Lordship here took occasion to remark, that he was not at all an object of censure, even if the navy were left in number than necessary, because he only acted in one department of administration; and though he had not a doubt but his brethren in office both had and would conduct the public affairs properly, that yet he was only blameable, where it could be proved that he had been remiss in the execution of that part of the public business assigned to his care. The noble Earl also had spoken as to the inutility of having so many ships in commission, and that they had done no service. The noble Earl forgot the winter cruising, a service not known in the course of the late war.

In answer to the manning of the navy, and the arrangement of the officers, his Lordship declared there never were better manned or better officered ships afloat. The officers in particular were as brave a set of men as ever had been in service, and he was not a little surprised to hear the noble Earl find so much fault, when he considered that he had himself been applied to, to take a command, and a ship was now at his service; that ship he therefore would venture to say would be ably officered.

The noble Earl merited his thanks for his compliments to him on his attention to the duties of his office; there was one thing, however, which had fallen from the noble Earl, which he could not agree to. The noble Earl had said he had yet an apprenticeship to serve, before he could be master of the business of the admiralty; he differed exceedingly from the noble Earl. He had served a very long apprenticeship to his profession; a longer one than any other who had preceded him in office, having begun to learn his business in 1744, when he first sat at the board of admiralty. In short, he was convinced his apprenticeship was long since ended, and finding himself duly qualified to turn master, he declared he had for a considerable time set up for himself. Another reason why he should not enter upon a fresh apprenticeship he would tell the noble Earl, and that was this—he verily believed he was past improvement, and that he should never mend. He assured their Lordships in general, that he had fallen off greatly in more than one thing, and he feared that he should rather fall off more than get better.

Having confuted various of Lord Bristol's assertions as to navy affairs, the Earl apologized for his long digression, and returned to the subject matter of the motion, viz. "General Gates's letter," which he declared was a direct libel on their Lordships proceedings for years past, and every way unfit to lie on the table of the House. He said, he hoped no member of either House of Parliament would dare to avow principles similar to those of the letter-writer, and that rather than agree to give up the supremacy of Great-Britain over America, it would be more honourable, and more patriotic, to adopt General Gates's heroism in reverse, and resolve to lose the last drop of their blood in support of the rights of this injured country.

The Earl of Bristol rose to reply, and re-asserted that there were now 74 ships in commission, stating the particulars which formed that total, and assuring the House that his information was to be depended on, as it was sent him from the different ports and yards of the kingdom. With regard to what the first Lord of the Admiralty had said, relative to a ship being ready for him, he owned it was true he had been applied to by the noble Lord, and he had seen the ship, but God forbid that he should let his feet on board a ship so manned.

Lord Sandwich rose once more, and reconciled the difference relative to the number of ships in commission, as stated by the Earl and himself, showing, that in his number of 58 none but line-of-battle ships were included, whereas in the Earl's of 74, ships of 50 guns were included. In answer to the complaints of the manning of the navy, he repeated his assertions that the navy in general was never better manned; that possibly there might be some individual commanders, who thought otherwise respecting their own ships, and grumbled; but so well was he convinced of the truth of his declarations on that head, that he was exceedingly willing to go into an immediate enquiry, and, by an examination of the officers in the service at the bar of the House, to prove to their Lordships, and to the public, that the navy was in a most flourishing condition.

P A R I S, December 22.

THE rumours of war are renewed; some people even think a war inevitable, and talk of a treaty of alliance and guarantee between France and the Congress. Dr. Franklin has had lately a long conference with the ministry, who profess a most extraordinary esteem for him. An American, who has lived in Dr. Franklin's house this twelve-month past, is just set out for America; and it is not doubted that he is charged with proposals of the last importance.

Dec. 27. Some persons, who pretend to be well informed, allow that Messrs. Franklin and Deane have been at Versailles, but that they neither conferred with Count de Vergennes, nor Count de Vergennes, but only with M. Gerard, first commissioner to the department for foreign affairs. In the mean time it is still pretended that an express will be sent from hence to America, to make propositions to the Congress; and we know for certain, that the court of London has already dispatched a person with proposals for an accommodation.

L O N D O N, January 9.

A correspondent says, that it continues to be most confidently asserted, that a treaty of commerce and alliance is signed between France and America, but whether the report is founded upon two other facts, or a real knowledge of such a fact, is not yet clearly ascertained. The two other facts are these, viz.

On the 27th of December, Mr. Carmichael, official Secretary to the American Deputies at Paris, set out from thence, express for America. (The treaty is said to have been signed on the 25th.)

The other fact is, that Lord Stormont has sent to our court the answer given by the French minister to his last memorial, which is, that the King of France will protect his flag, in all cases and places he thinks fit, and particularly in the commerce of his subjects with and to North-America.

B O S T O N, April 16.

Four prizes arrived last Thursday at a safe port, to the southward of this, viz. a ship, a snow, a brig, and a sloop. The snow is the prize the Warren frigate took on her passage round from Providence, but the other three we cannot learn who captured by, what laden with, or where from.

Yesterday morning the first division of British troops, late under the command of Lieut. General Burgoyne, marched from Cambridge, on their way to Rutland.

Since our last arrived in an express boat a prize schooner, taken by a sloop privateer, on Saturday the 15th, or Black Cat, at present, is detained.

We hear from Salem, that on Friday last night arrived there two prizes, taken by a small privateer from the eastward, commanded by Captain Daniel, viz. a schooner laden with rum and molasses, bound from Halifax for Port Cumberland; and a sloop laden with salt and dry goods.

Same day arrived at Salem a schooner, taken by a boat with six men. The schooner was fitted out as a tender to the Albany, commanded by the noted Capt. Mowatt, and was in pursuit of a French vessel in one of the eastern ports, where the men boarded and carried her, and brought her safe into port as above. The schooner was commanded by one Brown, a Midshipman of the Albany, and had eight hands besides, who were brought to this town, and put on board one of the guardships in this harbour on Wednesday last.

P R O V I D E N C E, April 11.

Saturday last a large sloop being observed from an eastern Port, standing westward, Capt. Charles Jenckes, of this town, went in a boat, with 7 men, and brought her in. She proved to be a transport from Halifax, bound to Rhode-Island, laden with coal for the troops, having one swivel and two muskets, but made no defence. The crew, which consisted of 4 seamen, beside the Captain and Mate, have since been conducted here.

Tuesday last the Master of a vessel, belonging to Newbury, who appeared to be a person of veracity, arrived here by land from New-York, where he had been exchanged. He left New-York the 30th ult. and informed, that the gale of wind on the 29th was severely felt there; that it blew from the E. S. E. with such violence, as to raise the tide four feet above the wharves, some of which were drifted, with vessels made fast to them; that 50 sail of transports and merchantmen were driven from their moorings, and the wharves in the East-River, all of which were stranded or bilged; and that 150 seamen were lost, and vast quantities of goods destroyed in the Warehouses. He also informs, that Lord Howe, in the Eagle, arrived off the Harbour before the height of the gale, and sent in a tender to procure a pilot; but the wind had increased to such a degree, that it was impossible to send him any assistance; and that it was generally supposed his Lordship must have cut away his Masts, or been driven on the Jersey Shore.

T R E N T O N, April 25.

The enemy, says a correspondent, after the flogging of Burgoyne, have resumed their old trick of sham-treaty. General Tryon (by what authority he best knows) has introduced into New-Jersey a ridiculous publication, under the title of *Draught of a Bill for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great-Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing Taxes within his Majesty's Colonies, Provinces and Plantations in North-America*, which just amounts to the old nauseous dith (which no honest American could ever swallow) with a little amendment in the cookery and sauces, together with the *Draught of a Bill to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North-America*. What renders this nonsensical rancour still more odious is, that General Tryon (and by the name of Governor too) certifies them to be true copies. Surely the Ministry might have found a more proper person for that purpose, than the most obnoxious of all obnoxious animals, by his professed declarations in the pleasure he takes in burning, kidnapping, and every species of depredation.—And offering pardon too—confumate impudence!—Who wants and will stoop to accept of a pardon, for defending his country against the most villainous tyranny that was ever devised by the art of man.—*Divide and rule*. But America has too much sense to be so gulled.

The enemy have been very busy some days past in distributing and posting up the above-mentioned draughts of bills in Philadelphia, and a number of them were also sent out with the party that made an excursion to Bristol, which were dropped in many places on the way.

On Thursday night last a party of the British light dragoons came from Philadelphia to Bristol, where they surprised and made prisoners 13 of our militia, some of whom they cut and abused in the most barbarous manner.

We hear it is currently reported in Philadelphia, that a declaration of war between France and England has taken place—that Mr. Pitt is actually at the head of affairs—that the King of Prussia has marched 9000 men into the Prince of Hesse's dominions, in order to oblige him to recall his troops from America—that Europe is in a tumult—and that there has been a mob in London, which carried through the streets the effigy of General Washington, whom they declared the supporter of liberty; and their zeal transported them to such a height, that they broke the windows and roughly handled the persons of those who would not illuminate.

W I L L I A M S B U R G, April 17.

The St. Tammany, Captain Cunningham, in 12 days from St. Eustatia, is just arrived in Jamec River, with a valuable cargo. By said vessel we have the melancholy account of the Randolph frigate, Captain Biddle, having blown up about 15 minutes after she struck to the Yarmouth man of war of 64 guns. It was supposed to have been done by some of the crew on board, as near 100 of them were deserters from the Yarmouth. The whole ship's company consisted of 316 men, only three of whom were saved.

The sloop Sally Norton, Capt. Cox, in 21 days from Martinico, is arrived at South Quay, laden with sugar, coffee, salt and dry goods.—Capt. Cox informs us, that he heard Capt. Thompson say, who arrived from France a few days before him, and was obliged to put into Lisbon in distress, that a packet had just arrived there from England, with intelligence that three commissioners were to set out immediately to treat with the American Congress, who had full powers to acknowledge our Independence, provided we gave them our track.

A gentleman writes from Martinico, that the Court of France had lately sent, in a King's frigate, two Deputies to Congress, to ratify the treaty of alliance for 30 years, which she has agreed upon with Dr. Franklin.—That 80,000 French troops had been sent, under the command of the Prince of Conde, into the provinces of Flanders and Britany.—That a British fleet of 20 sail were lying off the harbour of Brest.—That the Count de Noailles, the French Ambassador at the Court of Great-Britain, had retired on account of the egregious insult he received from the populace of London.—and that, in France, war was to be declared on the 15th of March.

Lately died at his seat of Belvoir, in the county of Stafford, the Hon. THOMAS LAWRENCE LEE, Esq.

The best monument that can be erected to the memory of a man is that which the posterity of several generations import by great alms, and in the minds of men who have been the grateful objects of it.—A steady, enlightened understanding, a flowing humanity, and a true patriotism, having graced the life of this gentleman, his death is justly and universally lamented.

Y O R K - T O W N, May 1.

S I R, New-York, April 17, 1778.

"Having been honoured with his Majesty's instructions to circulate the inclosures, I take the liberty to offer them to you, for your candid consideration, and to recommend, that through your means the officers and men under your command, may be acquainted with their contents.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,
General Washington. W. TRYON, Governor."

Head-Quarters, Valley-Forge, April 26, 1778.

S I R,

"Your letter of the 17th, and a triplicate of the same, were duly received. I had had the pleasure of seeing the draughts of the two Bills, before those which were sent by you came to hand; and I can assure you they were suffered to have a free currency among the officers and men under my command, in whose fidelity to the United States I have the most perfect confidence. The inclosed Gazette, published the 24th at York-Town, will show you that it is the wish of Congress they should have an unrestrained circulation.

"I take the liberty to transmit you a few printed copies of a resolution of Congress of the 23d instant, and to request you will be instrumental in communicating its contents, so far as it may be in your power, to the persons who are the objects of its operation. The benevolent purpose it is intended to answer will, I persuade myself, sufficiently recommend it to your candor.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,
Major-Gen. Tryon, at New-York. G. WASHINGTON."

In C O N G R E S S, April 23, 1778.

W H E R E A S persuasion and influence, the example of the deluded or wicked, the fear of dangers, or the calamities of war, may have induced some of the subjects of these States to join, aid or abet the British forces in America, and who, tho' now desirous of returning to their duty, and anxiously wishing to be received and reunited to their country, may be deterred by the fear of punishment: And whereas the people of these States are ever more ready to reclaim than to abandon, to mitigate than to increase the horrors of war, to pardon than to punish offenders:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of the several States to pass laws, or to the Executive Authority of each State, if invested with sufficient power, to issue proclamations, offering pardon, with such exceptions, and under such limitations and restrictions as they shall think expedient, to such of their inhabitants or subjects, as have levied war against any of these States, or adhered to, aided or abetted the enemy, and shall surrender themselves to any Civil or Military Officer of any of these States, and shall return to the State to which they may belong before the 10th day of June next. And it is recommended to the good and faithful citizens of these States to receive such returning penitents with compassion and mercy, and to forgive and bury in oblivion their past failings and transgressions.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Extra of a letter from a gentleman in London to his friend in America, dated February 5, 1778.

"I have but a moment to write this letter before the packet is closed, but our correspondence must now necessarily be short.

"Tho' I am not in the secrets of government here, and have strongly opposed all those measures which are deemed oppressive to America, and have constantly supported those claims against British taxation, and the altering of the charters of government by the mere authority of Parliament—yet I have had a hint, and have good reason to believe a proposition will be made to Parliament in four or five days by Administration, that may be a ground of union.

"I really do not know the particulars; nevertheless, as I have learned some preliminaries of a treaty have lately gone from France, I think it cannot be deemed unfriendly to either country to give you notice of this intended proposition, that you may do nothing hastily with foreign Powers, but wait a short time the issue. For I am conscious, from your integrity and patriotism, which I have long admired, that as nothing but necessity forced you to take up arms, so nothing but necessity or honourable engagements will force you to adopt a final separation of interests."

The following is a copy of General GATES's letter to the EARL of THANET, alluded to in the Duke of Richmond's motion.

My Lord, Albany, October 26, 1774.

"Presuming upon our former friendship, I take the liberty of addressing this letter to your Lordship, General Burgoyne having assured me it shall be faithfully delivered. The very important event of this campaign, so far as it respects General Burgoyne and myself, will, by the unexaggerating voice of truth, be related to your Lordship. For, what less can be said of it, than that the King's army, which left Canada in June, are all killed, taken, or have surrendered prisoners, under the Convention of Saratoga? How this complete victory has been used, with respect to the behaviour of the conquerors to the vanquished, General Burgoyne and Lord Peterborough, as they are soldiers, and men of honour, will declare.—But, to the main design of my addressing this letter to your Lordship.

"Born and educated in England, I cannot but be sensible for the misfortunes brought upon my native country by the wickedness of that administration, who began, and have continued this most unjust, impolitic, cruel and unnatural war. The dismemberment of the empire, the loss of commerce, of power and consequences to the nations, with the downfall of public credit, are the beginning of those evils, that must inevitably be followed by a thousand more, unless timely prevented by some lenient hand, some great state physician, with firmness, integrity and abilities of a Chatham, joined with the wisdom, virtue and justice of a Cambden, and supported by such men as your Lordship—men independent in their fortunes as unsullied in their conduct, and who never bowed their heads to Royal Decrees."

...may yet save the sinking state, by continuing that independency which the people of this continent are resolved to part with but when they leave this world. Such a man will do what all wise statesmen have done before him. He will be true to the welfare and interest of his country; and by rescinding the resolutions passed to support that system, which no power upon earth can establish, he will endeavour to preserve so much of the empire in prosperity and honour, as the circumstances of the times, and the maleadministration of those who ruled before him, have left to his government.

"The United States of America are willing to be the friends, but never will submit to be the slaves, of the parent country. They are, by consanguinity, by commerce, by language, and by the affection which naturally springs from these, more attached to England, than to any other country under the sun. Therefore, spurn not the blessing which yet remains. Instantly withdraw your fleets and armies; cultivate the friendship and commerce of America. Thus, and thus only, can England hope to be great and happy. Seek that, in a commercial alliance; seek it ere it be too late; for, there only, you must expect to find it.

"These, my Lord, are the undisguised sentiments of a man that rejoices not in the blood shed in this fatal contest; of a man, who glories in the name of ENGLISHMAN, and wishes to see peace and friendship between Great-Britain and America fixed upon the firmest foundation.

"Our friend, General Lee, has suffered a long and severe imprisonment; but the hour is at hand that forces General Howe to what he must for ever blush for not having done before. The pride, not the power, of the King's Generals prevents me from being more particular as to the immediate situation of the man you so much regarded. I beg your Lordship will present my affectionate compliments to Hall, and Sir Charles Davers. With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
HORATIO GATES.
To the Right Hon. the Earl of Thanet.
Major-General Lee.

Yesterday morning, at 10 o'clock, the MANAGERS of the UNITED STATES LOTTERY began the drawing of the FIRST CLASS, at the Court-house in this town.

In CONGRESS, April 30, 1778.
Resolved, That no commissioned officer in the army of these United States, who shall be honoured with a brevet commission, shall be entitled, by virtue of such brevet commission, to any higher rank in the regiment, troop or company to which he belongs, than he before held therein. A brevet commission giving rank only upon detach from the line, and in general courts-martial; nor shall such brevet officer be entitled to receive any additional pay in consequence of such brevet promotion.

Extra from the minutes.
CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

In COUNCIL, Lancaster, April 27, 1778.
In the present important crisis of public affairs, and according to the late call of Congress, the Supreme Executive Council of this State do hereby strictly charge all Officers, employed in recruiting the Continental battalions of this State, to make the most strenuous exertions, and redouble their endeavours to compleat the same, without loss of time.

And Council recommend to the Lieutenants and Sub-Lieutenants, and all other Officers of the Militia, to use their utmost efforts to prepare for the immediate march of four classes, the next in turn, upon any emergency.

By order of Council,
T. MATLACK, Secretary.

My friends HALL and SELLERS.
I ENCLOSE you a "Pennsylvania Evening-Post," published in Philadelphia the 3d instant, containing a piece, to which are annexed the names of Henry Laurens, President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. This paper I received some few days ago, with a request "to be informed, whether any such resolution as that contained in it did ever pass the Hon. Congress." To this I returned the following answer:

"SIR, York-Town, April 27, 1778.
"I am much obliged by your favour. If it was possible to be surprized by any chicanery of the enemy, this perhaps might have that effect. The only circumstance that excites any kind of wonder is, their folly and stupidity in attempting a forgery, which is so easily detected by every inhabitant of these States who reads the public papers. However, to remove every doubt, I assure you that no such resolution ever passed, nor was any such ever moved in Congress. I am, &c."

For the satisfaction of the public, and to show the little, low, infamous arts which our enemies practise, to deceive and delude, you will please to insert this in your paper, together with the publication alluded to. I am, &c.
CHARLES THOMSON.

* From a REBEL PAPER.
In CONGRESS, February 20, 1778.

WHEREAS it is represented to Congress by his Excellency General Washington, that the mode adopted by many of the United States of inlisting their quota of troops only for 6 or 9 months, occasions a constant change of men; by which means great part of his army constantly consists of undisciplined troops, and of course occasions great fatigue and trouble to his officers in rendering them fit only for any service; and that by the time they come to know the duty of a soldier, their inlistments expire.

Resolved, That all the troops now composing the armies of these United States, and all such other troops as shall hereafter inlist or be drafted to serve in their armies, shall be deemed, and they are hereby declared to be troops of these United States, during the continuance of the war between these United States and Great-Britain, and subject to all the regulations, pains and penalties specified in the articles of war heretofore made and ordained by these United States in Congress; notwithstanding any law of these United States to the contrary.

Resolved, That his Excellency General Washington, and all and every other officer of these United States, commanding in any garrison or fort, or at any post, or any detachments, be, and they are hereby authorized and required to apprehend and detain in safe custody, all such persons as shall quit the service of these United States, during the continuance of the war between these United States and Great-Britain, under pretence of the time of their inlistment being expired, in order that they may be brought to condign punishment for desertion.

By order of Congress,
HENRY LAURENS, President.
CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.
Attest.

Copy of a Letter from Lord N. to Lord B. 1778.
Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your very intelligent letter of the 17th inst. It has given me a much better idea of the present state of the war in America, than any account I have yet seen, and I am in hopes from what you say, that the army will reap great advantages by being comfortably quartered during the winter; and I apprehend cannot be much harassed by Washington's army. I am under great obligation to a friend of mine, for affording me an opportunity of writing you by this man of war, which carries dispatches to the General. Interested as you are in the event of this rebellion, and knowing your warm attachment to this country, I am afraid the dispatches which now go will seem very displeasing, and that you will be apt to think your friend Lord N. has lost that usual fortune of mind, for which I have heard you so often extol him. But be not too hasty in pronouncing judgment. Many concurring, and, I may add, unfortunate circumstances have forced him to pursue those measures, which he would willingly have avoided. You know how unwillingly his Lordship took the reins of Government. It was at a time when some of the most able men to the kingdom had absolutely abandoned them. The disturbances in America were then fast growing into rebellion. The minority in both Houses of Parliament were not only encouraging the Americans privately in their opposition to legal government, but they espoused their cause openly in both Houses. Lord Chatham rejoiced that America had resisted. When the outrages of the Americans rose so high, that Parliament found it absolutely necessary to declare them in rebellion, the minority still gave their countenance to their rebellious proceedings. They have, during the war, thrown every obstacle in the way of the Minister to retard the operations. The principles of these men have pervaded more or less through every department. In short, they have hung like a mill-stone round the neck of the Minister. The unfortunate defeat of the brave General Burgoyne was matter of triumph to the opposition. It had a different effect on the nation at large. It roused the sleeping Lion; and from every quarter of the three kingdoms his Majesty had an offer of the purse and persons of his loyal subjects. This alarmed the factious Minority, and it was necessary to ring the alarm-bell. They objected in Parliament to the mode of raising new levies. They pretended to be apprehensive of an invasion, and of course bawled forth the impropriety of sending any more of the old regiments out of the kingdom. They complained, that a proper use had not been made of the force already sent to America. That there were not, nor had not been, any terms held out to the rebels, should they incline to submit. That it was proper to declare on what footing they should be received, if they returned to their allegiance; and many arguments of the like nature, which were only thrown out as stumbling blocks to the Minister. Lord N., sensible that the Minority did not mean what they expressed, determined to attack them in their own way, and therefore moved for the two Bills which now go by this conveyance. It is not expected that the Congress will rescind their claim of Independence. But as they have now an offer in explicit terms of what they pretend they have been alone contending for, they must either accept of these terms, or show their cloven foot, which they have attempted to conceal under the cloak of contending for their legal and constitutional rights. The consequence of which will be a total overthrow of all opposition in this country. It is likewise expected that some good consequences will arise on your side of the water from these measures. We are confidently assured that many people are heartily tired of the tyranny of the Congress. At any rate be not alarmed, but rest assured that every vigorous measure is now pursuing to compel America to submission. And whatever may be the issue of the terms now offered, the people in America, who have manifested their loyalty to the King, and their attachment to the constitution, will be properly attended to. The Commissioners, you may be assured, will have a proper retinue. Adieu."

BY the advice of several Members of the Rev. Synod of New-York and Philadelphia, it is proposed, that, in the present situation of public affairs, the ensuing annual Meeting of that Body be held at Bedminster, in Somerset county, in the State of New-Jersey, on the third Wednesday in May, at ten of the clock, A. M. at which time and place the Members are requested to attend.

JOHN CARMICHAEL, Syn. Mod.
York-Town, April 29, 1778.

ALL persons that have left Deeds in my Office to be recorded, and have neglected to call for the same; and such persons as have Letters testamentary, or other papers remaining in my hands, are desired to call upon me for them, within three weeks from this time, as I intend shortly after that to leave this town. Any persons that have demands against me are desired to bring them in, that they may be paid; and such as are in my debt, are requested to discharge the same.

SAMUEL JOHNSTON.
April 29, 1778.

FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS Reward.

WAS broke open and stolen out of the stable of the subscriber, in Baltimore-Town, on Monday night the 27th inst. two valuable HORSES, viz. one a BLACK, with a star in his forehead, 8 or 9 years old, about 15 hands, is well made, paces, trots and canters exceeding well, and has a good carriage.—The other a bright BAY, 8 or 9 years old this spring, and about the same height of the black, with a black mane and tail, has always been used to the chair or carriage, the hair on each side has been worn off by the traces, trots middling fast, and canters but badly; his tail is long. The above Horses, when taken, were in exceeding good order.—Whoever takes up the said Horses, so that the owner may get them again, and secures the thief on himself, that they may be brought to justice, shall have the above reward; or One Hundred Dollars for each of the creatures, with reasonable charges, paid by

ARCHIBALD BUCHANAN.
N. B. The aforesaid Horses are supposed to have been stolen by one William Truward, a deserter from General Pulaski's Legion, and advertised in the Maryland Journal, of yesterday's date.

CAME to the plantation of James Smith, Esq; in York township, about the middle of April, a large black and white spotted HEIFER, between 3 and 4 years old, the horns bending inwards, has an ear-mark. The owner is desired to come, prove his property, pay charges and take her away, by LAWRENCE POLLY, living on said plantation.

Report of the Commissioners appointed by his Excellency General Washington, to meet, confer, determine and agree upon a treaty and convention for the exchange of prisoners of war, &c.

Philadelphia, 29th March, 1778.
THE Commissioners formerly mentioned by me will meet the Gentlemen you have nominated, in your letter of the 2d, at Germantown, on the 31st instant, at 11 o'clock in the morning, and Joshua Loring, Esq; my Commissary-General of Prisoners, will give his occasional attendance.

A commissioned officer, with a serjeant and twelve dragoons, will be sent from hence to attend upon my Commissioners; and I give this timely notice, that you may, if you please, have an equal number with yours.

I conclude you will join with me in opinion, that Germantown must be considered so far a neutral place, as that no troops be permitted to enter it, except the guards aforesaid, during the meeting of the Commissioners.

I am, with due respect, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
W. HOWE.

Gen. Washington, &c. &c.
(Copy)

S. I. R. Head-Quarters, 29th March, 1778.

I HAVE been favoured with your letter of the 27th instant. I agree with you, that Germantown shall be considered a neutral place during the meeting of the Commissioners; and that no troops shall be permitted to enter it while they are there, except the guards mutually sent to attend them.

With due respect, I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
G. WASHINGTON.

Gen. Howe, &c. &c.
(Copy)

By his Excellency Sir WILLIAM HOWE, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean, from Nova-Scotia to West-Florida inclusive, &c. &c. &c.

To Col. Charles O'Hara, Col. Humphry Stephens, and Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick.

IN pursuance of an agreement entered into with Gen. Washington, for the appointment of Commissioners on his part and on mine, to meet at Germantown on Tuesday, the 30th day of March, 1778, with full powers to take under their consideration all past transactions relative to the exchange of prisoners; to adjust the differences that have so long subsisted in regard to them; to remove all difficulties that may arise, in carrying into execution a general exchange of the prisoners with both parties at this time; and finally to establish a regular and explicit cartel for the future;—I do hereby nominate and appoint you, Col. Charles O'Hara, Col. Humphry Stephens, and Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick, Commissioners, on my part, for the purposes aforesaid; and you, or any two of you, are accordingly to repair to Germantown on the day above-mentioned, and there to treat, determine and agree with a like number of Commissioners, of suitable rank, on the part of Gen. Washington, vested with similar powers to those herein contained, upon all matters whatsoever relative to prisoners.

For all which this shall be to you, Col. Charles O'Hara, Col. Humphry Stephens, and Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick, or to any two of you, a sufficient warrant, and your engagements so concluded upon will, upon condition of their being mutually interchanged, be finally ratified and confirmed on my part.

Given under my hand and seal, at Head-Quarters, Philadelphia, the 31st day of March, 1778.
W. HOWE.

By his Excellency's command,
ROBERT MACKENZIE. (Copy.)

By his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces of the United States of America, To Colonel William Grayson, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Hanson Harrison, and Alexander Hamilton, and Elias Boudinot, Esq; Commissary-General of Prisoners.

WHEREAS a proposition was made by me, on the 30th day of July, 1776, to his Excellency General Sir William Howe, and acceded to by him on the first day of August following, stipulating an exchange of prisoners, "officer for officer of equal rank, soldier for soldier, and citizen for citizen."

And whereas differences have arisen on the construction and execution of this agreement; and it has been found by experience to be inadequate to all the desirable purposes for which it was intended, not being sufficiently extensive and definite to comprehend the diversity of circumstances incident to the state of captivity, or to ascertain the various modes of relief applicable to all.

In order to adjust all such differences, to prevent others in future, so far as may be practicable, and to fix the exchange and accommodation of prisoners of war upon a more certain, liberal and ample foundation, you are, in virtue of full powers to me delegated, to meet such commissioners of suitable rank, as are or shall be appointed on the part of General Sir William Howe, at Germantown, on the last day of this month, and who shall come duly authorized to treat on the subject.

With them to confer, determine and agree upon a treaty and convention for the exchange of prisoners of war, and for all matters whatsoever, which may be properly contained therein, on principles of justice, humanity and mutual advantage, and agreeable to the customary rules and practice of war among civilized nations: For all which, this shall be your sufficient warrant, and your engagements, being mutually interchanged, shall be ratified and confirmed by me.

Given under my hand and seal, at Head-Quarters, Valley Forge, this 28th day of March, 1778.
G. WASHINGTON.

By his Excellency's command,
JOHN LAURENS, Aid de Camp. (Copy.)

To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the United States of America.

WE the Commissioners appointed by your Excellency, to confer, determine and agree upon a treaty and convention, for the exchange of prisoners of war, and for all matters whatsoever, which may be properly contained therein, beg leave to report—

That in pursuance of your Excellency's orders, on the 31st day of March we met, at Germantown, the Commissioners appointed by General Sir William Howe, for the purposes, as expressed in their commission, "of taking into consideration all past transactions, relative to the exchange of prisoners, to adjust the differences that have so long subsisted in regard to them, to remove all difficulties

ties that may arise, in carrying into execution a general exchange of prisoners with both parties at this time, and finally to establish a regular and explicit cartel for the future.

We produced our respective powers and interchanged copies for further examination; after which a proposition was made to us, to take up the business of our meeting in the form of a general Cartel, and to make the discussion of past transactions a secondary object; in doing which, it was to be understood, that nothing was to be final or obligatory, till the whole treaty should be concluded. To this we readily agreed, as the mode appeared eligible in itself, and consonant with the intention of our commission.—These preliminaries being adjusted, a paper was submitted to our consideration, containing a number of articles relative to the subject of our negotiation, which we promised to peruse and deliver our sentiments concerning.

General Howe's Commissioners proposed to adjourn till the next day, and expressed a desire of returning that evening to Philadelphia, to which we did not then think proper to object.

Having met the next morning, we, in a cursory manner, pointed out some imperfections in General Howe's commission: An essential one was, that it contained no recital of the authority by which he acted; whereas your Excellency's commission expressly specifies, that it is "in virtue of full powers to you delegated." His Commissioners promised to communicate our objections, and receive his further instructions.

We proceeded in the mean time to a comparison of ideas on the paper abovementioned, and made rough minutes of the result, agreeing that whatever might be adopted should only be considered as a concurrence in some general principles, which were to be modified, explained, enlarged and applied, as should be afterwards determined.

It was then proposed to digest what had been done into a more regular and explicit form, and to prepare any new propositions which might occur; but as this would necessarily require time, it was agreed to defer our next interview to Friday, the 3d of April.

The Commissioners from General Howe then informed us, that it was expected by him the Commissioners on both sides were always to retire, after the business of the day, within their respective lines, and that the neutrality of Germantown was only to continue during the time of actual negotiation; as on account of the proximity of that place to Philadelphia, many inconveniences might attend our constant residence there.—This proposal was equally unexpected and surprising: We conceived it to be contrary to the tenor of the correspondence communicated to us, which had passed between your Excellency and General Howe, for appointment of a place of treaty.—It could not but produce much unnecessary delay in the negotiation, the distance between your Camp and Germantown being sixteen miles, and tended to impose a new and burthenome condition on us, by obliging us to perform a journey of twice that distance every day. In point of propriety and for the dispatch of business we thought it necessary the Commissioners should remain constantly together. These motives, and an apprehension that something might be implied, in the objection, unfavourable to our personal honour, determined us to suspend the negotiation till we had reported to your Excellency the terms required, and received your directions in consequence. We declared our resolution and reasons to General Howe's Commissioners and have returned to Camp accordingly.

Camp, Valley-Forge,
April 4th, 1778.

W. GRAYSON,
R. H. HARRISON,
A. HAMILTON,
E. BOUDINOT.

(Copy)
To his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq;
General and Commander in Chief of the Forces of the
United States of America.

WE the Commissioners appointed by your Excellency, to confer, determine and agree upon a treaty and convention for the exchange of prisoners of war, and for all matters whatsoever which may properly be contained therein, beg leave to report, —

That, agreeable to your Excellency's orders, on Monday the 6th of April we met, at Newtown in Bucks county, the Commissioners appointed by General Sir William Howe, for the purposes as expressed in their commission, "of taking into consideration all past transactions relative to the exchange of prisoners, to adjust the differences that have so long subsisted in regard to them, to remove all difficulties that may arise in carrying into execution a general exchange of prisoners with both parties at this time, and finally to establish a regular and explicit cartel for the future."

The next day we entered upon business. The commissioners on the part of General Howe opened it, by informing us that he had been made acquainted with our objections to his commission, but that he would not consent to the alteration we had proposed respecting an insertion of the powers under which he acted: That he meant the treaty to be of a personal nature, founded on the mutual confidence and honour of the contracting Generals, and had no intention, either of binding the nation or extending the cartel beyond the limits and duration of his own command. They declared themselves ready to treat with us on this footing and with their present powers, which they deemed adequate to the purposes of our meeting.

In answer, we aligned them our reasons at large for thinking there was a material defect in their powers, which must render any treaty we could form nugatory and unequal;—nugatory, because the private faith of an individual could not, in the nature of things, be a competent or proper security for a treaty of public import;—and unequal, because on the one hand, from the express terms of our powers, the public faith would be pledged for our engagements, and on the other, General Howe alone would be bound for the performance of theirs.

The Commissioners from General Howe, in the course of the discussion, intimated an impropriety in treating with us on a national ground, in a context of such a nature as the present, which might imply an acknowledgment inconsistent with their claims.—We observed to them, that if there was any inconsistency at all, it would operate equally against the forming a cartel on any principle whatever, and against the whole business of exchange; but that the measure was calculated for mutual advantage, and must justify itself on its expediency and necessity. We supported our observation by precedents

drawn from treaties of the same kind, and in order to obviate every scruple, we proposed, that if it was in our power, every impediment to the execution of our commission, we proposed that a cartel should be submitted into the cartel, declaring that all exceptions contained in it should be confined to adjust the political claims of either country, in any thing not directly necessary to the due and faithful observance of the treaty. This we thought a good expedient for reconciling difficulties on both sides.—We agreed to come to a final determination the next day.

We met accordingly; and after some mutual explanations we informed General Howe's commissioners, that on the most mature deliberation, we found ourselves obliged to adhere to our objections to their commission, and could by no means think ourselves authorized to treat with them, unless their powers were made correspondent to our own. They then proposed that two of their number should immediately proceed to Philadelphia, to consult General Howe again upon the subject. This proposal we cheerfully assented to, in hopes that he would ultimately put it in our power to answer the defensible purposes of our appointment.

On the return of these gentlemen from Philadelphia, they informed us that General Howe persisted in the idea of a personal treaty on his part, and refused to enlarge his powers by the declaration required on ours. We then proposed to state our objections in writing, and to receive their answer in the same manner: The former we did, as follows.

"THE Commissioners appointed by his excellency General Washington, to confer, determine and agree upon a treaty and convention for the exchange of prisoners of war, and for all matters whatsoever that may be properly contained therein.—

"Having examined the powers on the part of General Sir William Howe to his commissioners, and compared them with their own, observe a difference, which, in their apprehension, is very essential and important: General Washington, in his commission, expressly declares it to be given in virtue of full powers to him delegated: General Sir William Howe, in his commission, makes no acknowledgment of any authority by which he acts.

"It appears to be the intention of the respective Generals, mutually expressed in their powers, to do an extensive and permanent act, which shall not only effect a settlement of past differences, and a general exchange of prisoners for the present, but shall extend to the establishment of a regular and explicit Cartel in future. The objects of this Cartel will not be wholly of a military nature, but will include matters of very interesting civil concern.—It is apprehended, that the power of entering into a treaty of such importance is not naturally inherent in military command, and that it cannot be exercised, by either of the Generals, as an official act, merely, in virtue of their military capacities; but must be founded on special authority, delegated for the purpose.—This authority, according to reason and universal practice, ought to be declared, otherwise it will not appear, nor have the least efficiency or operation.—

"That if the authority does not exist, the negotiation can have no sufficient foundation. It must rest solely on the footing of personal confidence. The public faith cannot be considered as pledged, for the performance of any engagements, in consequence of it, and those may of course be over-ruled at pleasure. Could the credit of individuals be supposed great enough, in preservation of personal honour, to prevent the interference of superior authority—their influence could not, at any rate, extend beyond their own command, and should the casualties of war remove them, their successors would not be, in any manner, bound by their engagements.

"In fine, it is conceived, there would be a manifest impropriety in conducting a business of this nature on personal ground, as such a measure would be destitute of that validity, which the solemnity of a public act alone can give, and which the magnitude of the objects it is intended to comprehend indispensably requires.—Personal confidence, or the mutual confidence of individuals, is too slender and unsubstantial a basis, for concerns of so great variety and extent, as the treaty in contemplation must necessarily involve.

W. GRAYSON,
R. H. HARRISON,
A. HAMILTON,
E. BOUDINOT.

Newtown, April 10, 1778.

To Col. Charles O'Hara,
Col. Humphry Stephens,
Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick.

In return, the Commissioners on the part of General Howe delivered us a paper, containing a writing, as follows:—

"THE Commissioners appointed by his Excellency Sir William Howe, to take into consideration all past transactions relative to the exchange of prisoners, to adjust the differences that have so long subsisted in regard to them, to remove all difficulties that may arise in carrying into execution a general exchange of prisoners with both parties at this time, and finally, to establish a regular and explicit cartel for the future, having received the objections made to the commission under which they act, from the Commissioners appointed to meet them for similar purposes by General Washington, are much concerned to find they are likely to prove an obstruction to the execution of so defensible a purpose. They conceive the powers delegated to them by their commission to be sufficient and ample, for effectually accomplishing the purposes therein contained; and hereby declare themselves ready and desirous of immediately entering upon a treaty with the Commissioners appointed by General Washington, for carrying into execution the different objects of their commission.

C. O'HARA,
H. STEPHENS,
R. FITZPATRICK.

Newtown, April 11, 1778.

To Col. Grayson,
Lieut. Col. Harrison,
Lieut. Col. Hamilton,
Elias Boudinot, Esq.

We immediately prepared a reply to the foregoing writing, which we offered to General Howe's Commissioners, but they refused to read it; alleging that, if we would not meet them on the commission they now had, the negotiation was at an end. We then read to them the reply we had prepared, to the following effect:—

"THE Commissioners appointed by his Excellency General Washington, to confer, determine, and agree upon a treaty and convention for the exchange of prisoners of war, and for all matters whatsoever that may be properly contained therein.—

and for all matters whatsoever that may be properly contained therein, and finally to establish a regular and explicit cartel for the future.

That the Commissioners on the part of General Sir William Howe should think it necessary to submit objections stated to their powers, and requested, in order to apprehend, by the most conclusive reasons, all insurmountable obstacles to the progress of a negotiation, intended to answer the most benevolent and desirable purposes.

As General Sir William Howe must be supposed fully empowered to enter into the treaty his commission imports, they can conceive no sufficient reason for not declaring his powers, and would have thought, that nothing can be more than to remove the cause of their objections, and to proceed in the business on admitted terms.—They are ready and desirous to treat on fair, proper and equal ground, such as will give efficacy to their proceedings, and make a public act on the foundation of public authority.

Newtown, April 11, 1778.

To Col. Charles O'Hara,

Col. Humphry Stephens,

Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick.

W. GRAYSON,
R. H. HARRISON,
A. HAMILTON,
E. BOUDINOT.

We shall be happy if our conduct on this occasion meets with your Excellency's approbation. We were fully sensible of your solicitude for the success of a treaty, designed to provide an effectual and durable remedy for those calamities, with which the state of captivity has been hitherto afflicted. We are sorry the views of Gen. Sir William Howe were so far different from yours, as to render them impracticable. Your powers to us were the standard, by which we were to judge of the sufficiency of his. The former are founded on the broad basis of national faith; the latter on the narrow one of private faith. A dissimilarity, in so material a point, appeared to us a solid, and on our part, an insuperable objection. We considered the formation of a treaty, by which such momentous concerns would be affected, with no other sanction than the personal honour and interest of an individual, not only as incompatible with our commission, but repugnant to reason, to the nature of the business, and to common usage in similar cases. A treaty so formed would, in our conception, be merely nominal—or at best of temporary operation—certainly ceasing with personal command, liable at any time to be violated by public authority, without the imputation of public dishonour, and highly derogatory to the dignity of these United States.

Camp, Valley-Forge,
April 13, 1778.

W. GRAYSON,
R. H. HARRISON,
A. HAMILTON,
E. BOUDINOT.

In CONGRESS, April 11, 1778.

RESOLVED,

THAT Congress approve the conduct of Col. Grayson, Lieut. Col. Harrison, and Lieut. Col. Hamilton, and Elias Boudinot, Esq; Commissioners appointed by Gen. Washington to meet the Commissioners of Gen. Sir William Howe, and with them to confer, determine and agree upon a treaty and convention for the exchange of prisoners of war, and for all matters whatsoever, which may be properly contained therein, in the several meetings held at Germantown and Newtown with the said Commissioners of General Howe.

Resolved, That Congress are sincerely desirous of settling a cartel, for the exchange of prisoners, on principles of justice, humanity and mutual advantage, and agreeable to the customary rules and practice of war among civilized nations; and that they lament the obstacles raised by General Howe and his Commissioners, during the negotiations held for this defensible purpose.

ExtraB from the Minutes.

Published by Order of Congress,
CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

Hugh Montgomery Brackinridge,

HATH opened an ACADEMY at Frederick-Town, Maryland. School Exercises will begin on the first Day of June next. † 7/6

LOTTERY TICKETS.

LOST, within these three weeks, either in Lancaster, between there and York-Town, or in York-Town, three Tickets in the United States Lottery, No. 36,434, 36,435, and 36,437. Whoever has found the same, and will return them to DAVID CANDLER, in York-Town, the favour will be thankfully acknowledged.

N. B. They can be of no benefit to any but the owners, as payment is stopped at the Lottery office, if they should prove fortunate. April 30, 1778. †

ONE DOLLAR Reward.

RUN away from the subscriber, living in York-Town, an apprentice boy, named George Wise, about fifteen and a half years of age, about five feet three inches high, short black hair; had on, when he went away, a round hat, blue coat, with metal buttons, white-flannel jacket, black velvet breeches, blue ribbed stockings, half-soled shoes, and a home made shirt. Whoever takes up said apprentice, and secures him in any goal in this State, so that his master may get him again, shall have the above reward, paid by FREDERICK ADERHOLD. †

TO BE SOLD,

AN excellent FARM, in Carrollburgh, York county, containing 200 acres; the richest of soil, a proper proportion of meadow ground, and the situation, equally remote from the Indian and British savages, renders it one of the most eligible retreats in this State; about 60 acres of plow-land and meadow are cleared, a log house and barn built, a young orchard planted, and a well dug. For terms, apply to WILLIAM COCHRAN, living near said place. †

TO BE SOLD,

THE plantation of Andrew Livingston, late deceased, containing 314 acres, situate in Monmouth county, York county, and State of Pennsylvania, with a good dwelling-house, barn, and other office-houses; there are acres of upland cleared, 30 acres of meadow, more may be made, 20 of which can easily be watered by a draw-well, and two streams of water, one of which has a good mill-seat. For terms of sale, apply to the subscriber, living near said place. †

JOHN LIVINGSTON.

POSTSCRIPT to the PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE of May 2, 1778.

Y O R K - T O W N, MAY 4.

On Saturday last SIMON DEANE, Esq; arrived at Congress, express from the American Plenipotentiaries at the Court of France, and delivered his Dispatches to his Honour the President. The important Contents are, by a Correspondent, thus communicated.

THE news of the defeat and captivity of General Burgoyne were received in France the beginning of December, with as much joy as if a victory by their own troops had been announced. Our Plenipotentiaries took this opportunity again to attract the attention of the Court of France to the object of their negotiation. On the 16th, Monsieur Girard, Royal Syndic of Strasbourg, and Secretary of his Majesty's Council of State, waited upon our Plenipotentiaries, and informed them, by order of the King, "That after long and full consideration of our affairs and propositions in Council, it was decided, and his Majesty was determined to acknowledge our Independence, and make a Treaty with us of Amity and Commerce. That in this treaty, no advantage would be taken of our present situation to obtain terms from us, which otherwise would not be convenient for us to agree to, his Majesty desiring that the treaty, once made, should be durable, and our amity subsist for ever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find its interest in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it. It was therefore his intention, that the terms of the treaty should be such, as we might be willing to agree to if our state had been long established, and in the fullness of strength and power, and such as we should approve of when that time should come. That his Majesty was fixed in his determination, not only to acknowledge, but to support our Independence by every means in his power. That in doing this, he might probably be soon engaged in war, with all the expences, risque and damage usually attending it; yet he should not expect any compensation from us on that account, nor pretend that he acted wholly for our sakes, since, besides his real goodwill to us and our cause, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished by our separation from it. He should, moreover, not so much as insist, that, if he engaged in the war with England on our account, we should not make a separate peace for ourselves, whenever good and advantageous terms were offered to us. The only condition he should require and rely on would be this, *that we, in no peace to be made with England, should give up our Independence, and return to the obedience of that government.*"

That upon these principles, by virtue of full powers by the King of France to Monsieur Girard, Royal Syndic of the City of Strasbourg, and Secretary of his Majesty's Council of State, dated the 30th of January, 1778, this Minister, with our Plenipotentiaries, signed at Paris, on the 6th of February, a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce between the Crown of France and the United States of America, almost in the very terms in which the American Plenipotentiaries had been instructed by Congress. In the Treaty of Alliance, the following articles are conspicuous.

"ARTICLE I. If war should break out between France and Great-Britain, during the continuance of the present war between the United States and England, his Majesty and the United States shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good offices, their councils, and their forces, according to the exigence of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies."

"ARTICLE II. The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is, to maintain effectually the Liberty, Sovereignty and Independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce."

"ARTICLE VI. The Most Christian King renounces for ever the possession of the Island of Bermuda, as well

as of any part of the continent of North-America, which before the treaty of Paris in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the Crown of Great-Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately been, under the power of the King and Crown of Great-Britain."

The Treaty of Commerce stands upon the broad basis of equality; and, considering the established great power of France, and the infancy of the United States, is an act without parallel. In a word, the sentiments delivered on the 16th of December by Mons. Girard, by order of the King of France, are sentiments rarely entertained by Princes, and which, together with these equal treaties, must rank him, not only among the greatest Monarchs of France, but in history.

The Independence of America is a favourite object with all those powers of Europe, who entertain commercial views. With respect to the acknowledgment of our Independence, they have waited the example of France, and will now be determined in our favour by her conduct. The Emperor, Spain and Prussia are determined to support us. On the 6th of November last the Prussian Minister wrote in the following terms to one of our Plenipotentiaries, "As to the reinforcements of troops which Great-Britain may receive from other powers of Europe for the next campaign, I can assure you, Sir, that your Nation has nothing to fear from Russia or Denmark; and that even Germany will not furnish but some hundred men which the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Margrave of Anspach, in conformity to their treaties, cannot but send annually, to recruit the troops which those Princes hold in America in the pay of England. It is with sincere satisfaction that I give you this agreeable information." The King of Prussia would not allow the troops of Hesse and Hanau, in British pay, to pass through his dominions, he has promised to be the second Power in Europe to acknowledge the Independence of America.

The American prisoners in England were treated with such inhumanity, as induced our Plenipotentiaries to write to Lord North on the subject; and to employ a gentleman of rank in London to relieve their distresses. The British government thereupon relaxed their severities. The friends of America in London called a meeting on the 14th of December, 1777, to collect subscriptions for the relief of American prisoners, and on the 5th of January they collected £2677:8:6 sterling for that purpose. Among the subscribers stand the names of Marquis of Rockingham, Marquis of Granby, Earl Shelburne, Earl Abingdon, Lord Cholmondeley, Viscount Middleton, Viscountess Middleton, Sir George Saville, Hon. Thomas Townshend, Hon. Thomas Townshend, junior, Hon. Thomas Walpole, besides many Aldermen and Gentlemen of the first distinction. Our Plenipotentiaries assure us that Britain, failing in this campaign, cannot possibly make another in America, so low are her finances reduced, so ruined is her credit abroad, and so difficult is it for her to procure men at home. That the greatest preparations of war were making in all parts of France. That near 50,000 French troops were actually marched into Normandy and Brittany; and that the navy of France and Spain now consisted of 170 sail ready for sea.

These important advices were brought over in Le Sensible, Mons. Marignie, Commander, a Royal Frigate of France, of 28 twelve-pounders and 300 men. She left Brest on the 8th of March, and after a passage of 35 days arrived at Casco-Bay, from whence she sailed on her return, after two days stay to take in water.

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